2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the owner of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs.

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather.

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant.

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits.

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn.

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were [462] sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the
492 river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

341 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even
● 784 the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging
223 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.